GENUINE and IMPARTIAL

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE and CHARACTER

OF

CHARLES RATCLIFFE, Esq;

Who was Beheaded on TOWER-HILL, MONDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1746.

With an Account of his Family, and how far he was concerned in the REBELLION in 1715; the Inducements that occasioned his coming over to *England*, in 1735; and also the last Time with the Officers of *Dillon*'s Regiment, in the *Irish* Brigade in the *French* Service.

To which is Added,

A true ACCOUNT of his DYING BEHAVIOUR and LAST WORDS.

ALSO

A full Answer to the Letter inserted in the Daily Advertiser on *Saturday, December* 6, 1746, relating to these MEMOIRS.

Wrote by a GENTLEMAN *of the Family, to prevent the Publick being imposed on by any erroneous or partial Accounts to the Prejudice of this unfortunate Gentleman.*

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GENUINE AND IMPARTIAL

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OF

Charles Ratcliffe, Eſq; &c.

INFATUATION in Politicks, and Fanaticiſm in Religion, however differently the Terms may be applied, are much the ſame in Signification; both of them proceed from a falſe Biaſs on the Mind, occaſioned by the Prejudices of Education, the Obligations of Friendſhip, Attachments to a Party, or ſome other accidental Cauſe. Theſe or any of theſe, are generally too prevalent for Reaſon, the Underſtanding is blinded, and all the Faculties of the Soul are ſo ſtrangely perverted, that, though they act regularly, and perform their reſpective Functions duly in all other Reſpects, yet if you once employ them upon the Object that has thus warned them, they are all in a kind of Delirium, and Rage, Incoherence and Nonſence alternately uſurp the Seat of Judgment.

In Religion, how often have we ſeen a zealous Perſuaſion in Opinion inciting People to commit the greateſt Indecencies and Abſurdities? I remember in the latter End of Queen *Anne*'s Reign, a Set of Viſionaries ſtarted up, who called themſelves *French Prophets*. A principal Man was one Mr. *Lacey*, whoſe Conduct and Behaviour I had frequent Opportunities to ſee and obſerve. He was a Gentleman of good Fortune, and, I think, in the Commiſſion

of the Peace; a Man of good Parts, well read in the Laws of his Country, furniſhed with all Sorts of Learning, and could diſcourſe on any Topick to the Satisfaction of his Company: But whenever it happened that Religion was the Subject of Converſation, he raved, he foamed, and had all the Symptoms of Madneſs upon him; but when the Diſcourſe was changed to ſome other Topic, he appeared a polite ſenſible Man; and in the Propagation of his abſurd Notions he ſpent an affluent Fortune, and reduced himſelf to the greateſt Poverty.

There are, I believe, as great Bigots in Politicks as in Religion. Whenever a Man has imbibed a Set of Notions, by which the Party to which he has attached himſelf is diſtinguiſhed, 'tis ſeldom or ever that he is convinced of the Falſity of thoſe Notions, how erroneous ſoever they are. And though it ſhould happen, that a Man gets the better of his Prejudices, and freely informs his Judgment of the Truth of Things, and thereby ſatisfies himſelf that he has been all along in an Error; yet ſuch is the Weakneſs of Human Nature, that he cannot prevail with himſelf to renounce the Party that eſpouſes thoſe erroneous Notions, from a falſe Point of Honour, that it would diſcover a Meanneſs of Spirit to depart from thoſe Engagements which he had once entered into. Thus he goes on to ſin againſt Conviction, becauſe he fancies the World would charge him with Weakneſs and Flexibility in changing his Opinion; not conſidering that the human Judgment is fallible, and liable to Impoſition from the falſe and deceitful Appearances of Objects that are preſented to it.

Thus may we account for the Obſtinacy and pertinacious Perſeverance, which many, indeed moſt of the Rebels who have lately ſuffered, have ſhewn to the laſt Moment of their Lives. They had imbibed Principles to the Prejudice of our happy Government, under which they might have lived in the full and free Enjoyment of their Liberties and Properties; but having once taken up a Perſuaſion that there was a Perſon of the Race of *Stuarts* who had a Right to the Crown, they imagined that all the Bonds of Society, both Civil and Sacred, ought to be broke, the Liberties of their Country ſacrificed, and the eſtabliſhed Religion, which many even of them profeſſed, ought to be baniſhed and deſtroyed, to make the Way clear and eaſy for his Aſcen-

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ſion to the Throne. They did not give themſelves leave to conſider, that though they ſhould be right in their Opinion, that the Pretender's Claim was ever ſo juſt; yet that their Obligations to the Government, under whoſe Protection they lived, the Liberties, Privileges and Properties, which their Fellow-Subjects ſo happily enjoyed, and the Ties of Religion, which ought to have the greateſt Weight with every Man who profeſſes Chriſtianity, are Conſiderations which ought to preponderate when put in Balance againſt the Intereſts of one Man, however clear his Pretenſions might be. They perſuaded themſelves that the Cauſe they fought in was juſt, and therefore if they loſt their Lives in the Support of it, they ſhould be regiſtered in the Liſt of Martyrs, and merit Heaven by their Sufferings.

As to Mr. *Ratcliffe*, who is the Subject of theſe Memoirs, I think it not very difficult to account for his Conduct, how extraordinary ſoever it has appeared of late in the Eyes of the Public. It muſt be remembered, that both he and his Brother the late Earl of *Derwentwater*, were educated in the Principles of the Church of *Rome*; that he had abſolutely attached himſelf to the Intereſts of the Pretender; that for Thirty Years paſt he has lived in the Service of another Prince, and under a Foreign Government; and that he once received the Sentence of Death in his Native Country: All theſe Conſiderations put together might contribute to alienate his Affection from that Government under which he was born, and induce him to fight againſt that Eſtabliſhment from which he never expected to receive any Benefit or Protection, which he knew he had juſtly forfeited. I will allow too, that his Behaviour as an *Engliſhman*, has been far from being conſonant to that humble and ſubmiſſive Demeanour, which becomes a Criminal in his melancholy Circumſtances, and appearing before a *Britiſh* Court of Judicature. But when I conſider the length of Time he has been in *France*, I cannot help ſuppoſing him to have acquired the Habits, and even the very Nature of a *Frenchman*, whoſe Temper it is to bully and ſwagger, when other Means of Relief are out of his Power. There is no Doubt but he conſidered himſelf a Subject of *France*, and that he was accountable only to the Prince of that Country for his Civil Conduct, which, in his Opinion, muſt ſuperſede any Authority which the *Britiſh* Laws

might

might claim over him. This, I imagine, was his Way of thinking: But how weak and deluſive! He ſhould rather have conſidered the Juſtice of his former Sentence, by which he was righteouſly condemned, for endeavouring to ſubvert the Laws, Religion and Liberties of his Country, for ſeeking to deſtroy the Life of a Prince who indulged him in the Profeſſion and Practice of his Religion, though that Religion was not licenſed by the Laws, and contrary to that eſtabliſhed in his Native Country; that he ought rather by the moſt penitent and humble Behaviour, have rendered himſelf, in ſome Meaſure, an Object worthy of his Majeſty's Clemency; that the Government have too contemptible an Opinion of the *French* Power, to be intimidated by any Menaces or Inſults that may be made uſe of by its Tools to ſcreen themſelves from the juſt Reſentments of a *Britiſh* Monarch; and that whatever his Opinion was with Reſpect to the Juriſdiction of an *Engliſh* Court over him; yet that a Court of Juſtice, in every Country, requires that a Deference and Reſpect ſhould be paid to the Judges and Members who conſtitute that Court. And I am very ſorry to ſay, that Mr. *Ratcliffe*, who had the Education of a Gentleman, and could not be wholly ignorant in the Manner of conducting himſelf before a Court of Judicature, ſhould behave himſelf ſo inconſiſtently both with Reſpect to good Manners and his own Intereſt, as he did on a late Occaſion.

But notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid of the Folly and Abſurdity, the Wickedneſs and Baſeneſs of Mr. *Ratcliffe*'s Conduct and Principles, I cannot help calling him an *unfortunate* Gentleman, although that Epithet has, it ſeems, given great Offence to a certain Scribler in the *Daily Advertiſer*, of *December* 6. I would fain know of this *indiſcreet Zealot* for the Government, to what Cauſe or Cauſes are generally owing the Misfortunes and Calamities that befal Mankind? Are they not frequently by their Vices and bad Conduct? When he ſees a Man reduced from opulent Circumſtances to the loweſt Degree of Penury and Want, and his Family ſuffering all thoſe Diſtreſſes which they muſt neceſſarily feel when the Head of it is in ſuch a deplorable Situation; is not his Pity, his Compaſſion excited, though he knows that the Man himſelf had occaſioned thoſe Misfortunes by his own Extravagancies and bad

bad Oeconomy? It muſt, unleſs he has diveſted himſelf of Humanity. Any Man of a generous Way of thinking, will be ſorry that his Friend, his Neighbour, or any Perſon who makes a Figure in Life, ſhould have ſo little Prudence, ſo little Oeconomy, ſo little Regard to the Happineſs of his Wife and Family, as to ſuffer himſelf and them to be diſtreſſed by his own Irregularities. Can any Body blame me for calling ſuch an one an *unfortunate Man?* Nay, though I ſhould ſee him ſo hardened in his Folly, as to laugh at his own Misfortunes, and to make a Jeſt of the evil Occurrences which, through his Means, have befel his Relations and Dependants, muſt I too join with him in his Perverſeneſs, and make his and their Calamities the Subject of my Ridicule and Raillery? No; I think he is the more the Object of my Pity; and his Inſenſibility inſtructs me to bewail the Weakneſſes and Frailties of Human Nature, and the low Ebb to which Reaſon in ſuch a Man is reduced. Do we ever laugh at the Abſurdities or Exceſſes committed by a Madman? Is not our Compaſſion rather excited, when we ſee the noble Faculty of Reaſon ſuſpended, and, as to the preſent Uſe of it, utterly extinguiſhed? Are we not apt to call ſuch a Perſon an *unfortunate Man?*

Thus, with regard to Bigots in Party and Political Affairs; when we obſerve Gentlemen of Figure acting a Part diametrically oppoſite to the Intereſt of their Country, we are glad when we ſee them brought to condign Puniſhment for their Offences; yet ſurely there is ſtill Room for the Exerciſe of Humanity. Can there be any Crime in pitying a Man of great Parts, fine Senſe, and excelling in many generous and heroic Virtues, when we ſee him employ thoſe noble Talents to the worſt Purpoſes, the Subverſion of his Country, and the Deſtruction of all its antient Liberties and Privileges? Is there any Harm in ſaying, that ſuch a Gentleman is very *unfortunate* in his Purſuits? And that even Mr. *Ratcliffe* himſelf was very *unfortunate*, in not being more ſenſible to his own Intereſt, than to affront the Government in whoſe abſolute Diſpoſal his Fate was? I dare ſay, he would have ſtood a better Chance for his Life, had he demeaned himſelf in a Manner more becoming one in his unfortunate Condition.

One Word more with this hot-headed Advocate for Inhumanity, and then I ſhall leave him to the Correction of his

his own Conſcience. He ſays, *It is difficult to ſuppoſe a Gentleman of the Family impartial, and impoſſible for a Man of Underſtanding to believe he is ſo, if a P---ſt.* Very charitable truly! to prepoſſeſs the Publick againſt theſe *Memoirs*, which, at the Time of his Writing, he knew nothing of, and yet would inſinuate cannot be written with Impartiality, becauſe (as he ſuppoſes) penned by *a Gentleman of the Family*, and one who he likewiſe inſinuates muſt be a Prieſt.

As to the firſt Part of the Inſinuation, I would aſk him, Who is ſo proper to give an Account of the Principles, Conduct, and Behaviour of a Gentleman, as one, who has known him through the whole Courſe of his Life, and been privy to his moſt intimate Concerns? As to the Impartiality of the Writer of theſe *Memoirs*, that muſt be left ſolely to the Judgment of the Publick, by which only his Credit muſt ſtand or fall.

With regard to that Part of his Inſinuation, in which he ſuggeſts our Author to be a Prieſt, (he means, I preſume, a *Romiſh* Prieſt) he was never more miſtaken in his Life. I do aſſure him, that the King has not a more faithful Subject, nor the People a more ſtrenuous Aſſertor of their Rights and Privileges than he is; of which he can give undeniable Teſtimony whenever thereto properly required. He is a ſincere Lover of his Country, and a Profeſſor of the Proteſtant Religion as eſtabliſhed among us, under the Protection of his Majeſty King *GEORGE*; whom God long preſerve! But let this ſuffice by Way of Anſwer to this angry Scribler, till I hear further from him. Let us now proceed to the Narrative which I have propoſed to give of the Life, Conduct, and Adventures of this *unhappy* Gentleman.

Charles Ratcliffe, Eſq; was younger Brother to the late *James* Earl of *Derwentwater*, who was beheaded in the Year 1716, for traiterouſly conſpiring the Death of his Majeſty King *GEORGE* I. Both he and his Brother had an Education ſuitable to their high Birth; and as the Religion they were brought up in was the ſame, that is, the *Romiſh*, it's no Wonder that they imbibed the ſame Principles of Government, which are, and always will be oppoſite to thoſe on which the preſent happy Eſtabliſhment is founded.

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The Family of *Derwentwater* can boaſt as high a Deſcent as moſt Families in the Kingdom, and ſeveral Branches of it make a ſhining Figure in Hiſtory. 'Tis true, none of them were advanced to the Dignity of the Peerage, before Sir *Francis Ratcliffe*, Grandfather of *James* the late Earl, who was created Earl of *Derwentwater* by King *Charles* II. upon his marrying the Lady *Mary Tudor*, the natural Daughter of that Prince, by Miſtreſs *Davis*. This Alliance to the Royal Blood, gave them a Title to match with the nobleſt Families in the Kingdom; and was likewiſe the Occaſion of that ſtrict Attachment which the ſeveral Branches of the *Derwentwater* Family have inviolably preſerved for the Line of *Stuarts* ever ſince. But beſides this natural Relation between the Family of *Derwentwater*, and that of the *Stuarts*, which alone might be ſufficient to create Affection and Friendſhip between them, the late Earl had another Inducement, which alone might be powerful enough to prevail with him, to take the Part he did in that unhappy Rebellion for which he ſuffered; and that is, he had the chief Part of his Education with the Pretender at St. *Germains*; which, no Doubt, contributed very much to cement the natural Affinity between the two Families.

Charles, the Earl's Brother, had likewiſe his Education in *France*, and under the Tuition of *Romiſh* Prieſts, who inſtilled into him thoſe Principles, which have a natural Tendency to the Subverſion of the *Britiſh* Conſtitution both in Church and State. From them he imbibed an implacable Enmity to the Prince on the Throne, and the Proteſtant Religion which was by Law eſtabliſhed in the Kingdom. By theſe Prieſts he was taught, to call all thoſe Hereticks who diſſented from the Church of *Rome*, and inſtructed to believe, that the deſtroying ſuch with Fire and Sword, and all Manner of Cruelties, was ſo far from being a Sin, that it alone would certainly entitle him to Heaven, although he ſhould be guilty of the moſt enormous Crimes that ever blackened an Offender. If then Mr. *Ratcliffe* had ſuch a wrong Biaſs given him in his Education, at a Time when his Mind was, as it were, a perfect Blank, and capable of receiving any Impreſſion, what Wonder is it, that he retained thoſe Principles, and acted under their Influence through the whole Courſe of his Life?

The late Earl of *Derwentwater* and his Brother *Charles* were ſo ſtrongly attached to the Pretender's Party, that their Advice or Conſent was not ſo much as asked in thoſe Conſultations that were held among the Diſaffected previous to the Rebellion; neither did the Party think it neceſſary, becauſe they were always ſure of them, whenever they ſhould come to Action. However, in this, they overſhot themſelves a little in their Politicks. For, had they given the Earl and his Brother timely Notice of their intended Inſurrection, theſe Gentlemen might have brought a powerful Force into the Field, being greatly eſteemed and reſpected by all the Gentlemen round the Country: Whereas it's notorious that they joined the Rebels, attended only by their menial Servants, and ſome few Gentlemen of the Country, who happened to be in their Company when they formed the Reſolution of engaging in that unnatural Rebellion.

I cannot forbear here gratifying the Reader with the Character of the late Earl of *Derwentwater*, as drawn by the Rev. Mr. *Patten*, Author of the Hiſtory of that Rebellion. He ſays, 'It was thought, that this Lord did 'not join either ſo heartily or ſo premeditately in this Af-'fair as was expected; for there is no Doubt but he might 'have brought far greater Numbers into the Field than he 'did; the great Eſtate he poſſeſſed, the Money he could 'command, his Intereſt among the Gentlemen, and, 'which is above all, his being ſo well beloved as he was, 'could not have failed to have procured him many Hun-'dreds of Followers more than he had, if he had thought 'fit; for his Concerns in the Lead Mines of *Aſton-Moor* 'were very conſiderable, where ſeveral Hundreds of Men 'were employed under him, and got their Bread from 'him, whom, there is no Doubt, he might eaſily have 'engaged: Beſides this, the Sweetneſs of his Diſpoſition, 'in which he had few Equals, had ſo ſecured him the Af-'fection of all his Tenants, Neighbours, and Dependants, 'that Multitudes would have lived and dyed with him. 'The Truth is, he was a Man formed by Nature to be 'generally beloved; for he was of ſo general a Beneficence, 'that he ſeemed to live for others. As he lived among 'his own People, there he ſpent his Eſtate, and continu-'ally did Offices of Kindneſs and Good-neighbourhood to

'every

'every Body, as Opportunity offered. He kept a Houſe 'of generous Hoſpitality and noble Entertainment, which 'few in that Country do, and none came up to. He was 'very charitable to poor and diſtreſſed Families on all Oc-'caſions, whether known to him or not, and whether 'Papiſt or Proteſtant. His Fate is ſenſibly felt by a great 'many, who had no Kindneſs for the Cauſe he died in, 'and who heartily wiſhed he had not forwarded his own 'Ruin, and their Loſs, by his Indiſcretion in that mad, as 'well as wicked Undertaking.'

Pity it is that ſo good a Man ſhould involve himſelf in ſuch an unfortunate Expedition. Which indeed, might and would have been prevented, had not the Deſign of the then Miniſtry took Wind too ſoon. They knew that the Earl had a very large Intereſt, and was exceedingly beloved in the Country where he lived; they knew too what his Religion and Principles were; and were ſenſible that if he ſhould take Arms he would draw a Part of the Country after him: To prevent which they thought proper to iſſue out their Warrant for the Apprehenſion of him and his Brother; which would have effectually put a Stop to their joining with the Rebels: But the Affair being known in the Secretary's Office, one of the Clerks, whether out of Affection to the Earl, or for what other Cauſe, is not known, very officiouſly communicated the Secret to ſome of the Earl's Friends here in *London*, who immediately gave him Notice of it. This determined him to join the Rebels with all Speed, and was the principal Reaſon why he took ſo few of his Followers with him. Happy had it been for him, happy for his Lady, and happy for his Family, had he ſtaid at Home, and ſuffered himſelf to be with-held from that fatal Expedition.

Mr. *Ratcliffe*, the Earl's Brother, was then about two and twenty Years of Age, full of Spirit and Courage, bold and daring even to a Raſhneſs, and was generally the firſt to offer himſelf to go upon the moſt hazardous Enterprizes. He ſeemed to ſet no Value upon his Life where Honour was to be won, or Service to be performed. This intrepid Behaviour, which he was forward to manifeſt on all Occaſions, endeared him very much to the Chiefs of the Rebels, and therefore the Earl gave him the Command of his Troop, and Captain *Shaftoe* commanded under him.

As Mr. *Ratcliffe* had never been in the Army before, and conſequently knew nothing of military Diſcipline, it cannot be ſuppoſed that he was preſently ſo expert in the Art of War as older Officers, who had ſerved in ſeveral Campaigns before, but what he wanted in Experience and Knowledge, he made good in Bravery, and in animating his Men to great Exploits.

But before we enter upon Action, it will be neceſſary for the Reader to keep Company with the Earl and his Brother in their Journey from Place to Place, till they had joined their Friends in the North.

Mr. *Forſter*, who had likewiſe fled from his Houſe, on a Notice that was given, that a Warrant was iſſued from the Secretary's Office to take him, finding that he could not hide himſelf long in any Place of Safety, ſent out Meſſengers to his Friends of the Party, to meet him in *Northumberland*; where being met, they came to a Reſolution to muſter up all the Forces they could, and to appear in Arms. Purſuant to this Reſolution, Notice was given to all their Friends to meet *Oct.* 6. at a Place called *Greemrig*; and about twenty Gentlemen repaired to Rendezvous; but without ſtaying there, they rode to the Top of a Hill called the *Waterfalls*; from whence they ſoon diſcovered the Earl of *Derwentwater* and his Brother, with their Company, who came that Morning from the Earl's Seat at *Dilſton*. In coming from thence, their Way lying through the Town of *Corbridge*, they all drew their Swords, and in that Order marched through it. From thence they proceeded to the Seat of Mr. *Errington*, where they halted, and the Earl was joined by ſeveral other Gentlemen, and ſo proceeded in a Body to the Place appointed for their Rendezvous, where the forementioned Company met them. Their Company now conſiſted of about 60 Horſe, moſt of them Gentlemen with their Attendants. They went forwards towards the River *Coquett*, to a Place called *Plainfield*, where they were joined by ſeveral others. From thence they marched on to *Rothbury*, and from thence to *Warkworth*, a ſmall Town upon the Sea-coaſt, their Number ſtill increaſing as they marched. Here they proclaimed the Pretender, which was done by Mr. *Forſter* in Diſguiſe, and was the firſt Place in *England* where the Pretender was proclaimed.

October

October 10. They came to *Morpeth*, where they were joined by 60 *Scots* Horſe; ſo that now they were 300 ſtrong: Here they prepared to march to *Newcaſtle*; in order to which, the Earl of *Derwentwater* ordered his Brother Mr. *Ratcliffe* to take a Party of Horſe, and go and ſeize the Poſt at *Felton Bridge*; which they did without any Loſs; for indeed, as yet, no Body did oppoſe them. However, the Rebels were diſappointed in their Deſign upon *Newcaſtle*: For the Townſmen taking the Alarm, armed, and prepared for their Defence; which the Rebels being informed of, they turned off, and marched to *Hexham*, and were joined by ſome more *Scots* Horſe.

While they lay at *Hexham*, they had Information that General *Carpenter*, at the Head of a conſiderable Body, was come out in Purſuit of them, and was preparing to attack them. Upon which a Council of War was held, and Mr. *Ratcliffe* propoſed to march out and fight them, before they had recovered themſelves from their long Marches, which they had been obliged to make. But the other Leaders did not think this adviſable; becauſe moſt of their Men were raw and unexperienced, and had never yet faced an Enemy: Whereas the King's Forces were diſciplined Troops, and had a brave General at their Head, who knew his Buſineſs as well as any Man alive; and therefore for the preſent, it was better to avoid fighting, until they were reinforced by the Forces which they expected every Day to join them; ſince a Miſcarriage at the Beginning would certainly prove fatal to the whole Undertaking. This Counſel was followed; and they reſolved to march forward to meet the Forces that were coming to join them from *Scotland*, headed by their Leaders the Lords *Kenmure*, *Nithſdale*, *Carnwarth*, and *Wintoun*, and were advanced as far as *Rothbury*. Here the *Engliſh* and *Scots* Rebels joined their Forces, and marched directly from thence to *Wooller* in *Northumberland*. Here it was they reſolved to march for *Scotland*, where they were aſſured their Friends were very numerous. Accordingly they paſſed the *Tweed*, and came to *Kelſo*. Here they muſtered their Forces, and found them to amount to about 1400; and they ſtaid in this Town about five Days; but hearing that General *Carpenter* was come with his Forces as far as *Wooller*, and intended immediatlely to face *Kelſo*, a Council of War was called, in order

der ſeriouſly to conſider what Courſe they ſhould take. The Lord *Wintoun* was for marching away into the Weſt of *Scotland*, and gave ſeveral ſubſtantial Reaſons for it: But the *Engliſh* imagining that half the People in the Country would riſe as ſoon as ever they ſhould ſee a Standard erected for the Pretender, rejected this Advice, and the Majority of Voices being on their Side, it was reſolved to march back into *England*.

Mr. *Ratcliffe* then propoſed to repaſs the *Tweed*, and attack the King's Forces, ſince, at that Juncture, they had a manifeſt Advantage from the Weakneſs and Wearineſs of General *Carpenter*'s Men, who were indeed extreamly fatigued, and their whole Complement did not conſiſt of above 500 Men; whereof two Regiments of Dragoons were new raiſed, and had never ſeen any Service. This Advice was bold, and agreeable to Mr. *Ratcliffe*'s fiery and ſpirited Temper, and if it had been followed, it is very probable the King's Troops would have been worſted, conſidering how much they were fatigued, and were not half the Number of the Rebels. But neither was this Advice followed, tho' it ſeemed the beſt that could be given at that Time. But there was a Fatality that attended all their Counſels, for they could never agree to any one Thing that tended to their Advantage.

However, it was thought neceſſary to decamp from *Kelſo*, which they did, and taking a little to the Right, marched to *Jedburgh*. Being arrived here, Word was brought them, that General *Carpenter* had fallen upon their Foot which had not yet reached the Town. This put them into the utmoſt Conſternation; however, Mr. *Ratcliffe* mounted his Horſe, and bid them who had any Courage left, to follow him. Upon which they all mounted likewiſe, and galloped away to relieve his Friends: But, as it happened, there was no Occaſion; it being a Miſtake, occaſioned by another Party of their own Men, who had taken a different Route.

While they lay at *Jedburgh*, they perceived that an Opportunity offered of getting the Start of General *Carpenter* by three Days March. Upon which a Conſultation was held, and the *Engliſh* Gentlemen earneſtly preſſed, and it was accordingly reſolved, to croſs the Mountains, and march for *England*. This Reſolution however, had like

to

to have been attended with fatal Conſequences; for the Highlanders could not be perſuaded to croſs the Borders; which obliged them to alter their Reſolution.

From *Jedburgh* they marched to *Harwick*, a ſmall Town belonging to the Dutcheſs of *Bucclugh*, at whoſe Houſe the Lord *Derwentwater* and his Brother, the preſent unfortunate Mr. *Ratcliffe*, with ſeveral others of the Chiefs took up their Quarters.

Mr. *Ratcliffe*, who had never ſeen much of the World before, fancied himſelf now upon his Travels; and accordingly it was a great Part of his Amuſement to make Obſervations on whatever he met with that deſerved his Notice; at every Town he came to, he enquired what were the moſt remarkable Cuſtoms and Curioſities of the Place; what Monuments of famous Men or Actions, or other noted Pieces of Antiquity, were remaining among them; and whatever Informations he could get of this Kind, he took down in his Book. Nor was he leſs curious in obſerving the various Tempers and Paſſions of Men, as well in Council as in the Field, in Action as in Converſation. When any falſe Alarm was given, that the King's Forces were at Hand and ready to fall upon them, he was ſure to take particular Notice of the Countenances of the Officers about him, when they were ordered to head their Corps and march againſt the Enemy. Some of them he obſerved were covered with Paleneſs, and looked as if the Men were already half dead; while others he ſaw fluſhing with Fire and Fury, or ſettled in a compoſed Sternneſs; theſe he always found to be the beſt Soldiers in the Time of real Action.

Upon their marching to *Hawick*, the Highlanders ſtill ſuppoſing that they were going for *England*, again mutinied, ſeperated themſelves, and went to the top of a riſing Ground, where they reſted their Arms, and declared they would not ſtir a ſtep farther; but would go with the Lord *Wintoun* to the Weſt of *Scotland*, join the Clans there, and either croſs the *Forth* above *Stirling*, or ſend Word to the Earl of *Mar*, that they would fall upon the Duke of *Argyle*'s Rear, whilſt he attacked him in Front; which if they had done, it is very poſſible they would have been too hard for the Duke, who was then but weak in Forces.

Mr.

Mr. *Ratcliffe* thought theſe Propoſals of the Highlanders were too juſt and reaſonable to be rejected, without examining into the Truth of them, and therefore he deſired to hear whatever would be objected againſt them; and when every one had given his Opinion, and finding that all the *Engliſh* Officers were reſolved to march into *England*, and that their Reaſons for it were too weak to ballance thoſe given by the Highlanders for their March into *Scotland*; he ſided with the latter, and declared it as his Opinion, that they ſhould be better able to ſerve the Cauſe by joining the Highlanders in their propoſed March into the Weſt of *Scotland*, than by continuing their Route to *England*, where it was uncertain what Aſſiſtance they ſhould have from their Friends, many of whom tho' he knew were hearty in the Cauſe, yet were fearful of appearing in it, until they ſaw ſome Probability of its ſucceeding; and that others, who were Gentlemen of Fortune, tho' they were hearty well-wiſhers to the Cauſe, yet having too much to riſque, did not care publickly to embark in it, until they had ſome rational Grounds to hope for Succeſs. That therefore he thought, that their beſt Way would be, to ſtrike a bold Stroke in *Scotland*, and endeavour to make a complete Conqueſt of that Kingdom; which if it could be done (and he ſaw no mighty Obſtruction that lay in the Way) they ſhould be then able to raiſe powerful Armies, and ſend them into *England*, and be ready to ſuccour them with any Supplies, and ſhould always be in a Place of Retreat in Caſe any Diſaſter ſhould befal their Army: Whereas, in *England*, if they ſhould happen to meet with a Rebuff, they ſhould be entirely ruined, having no Reſource, or any Means of retrieving a Misfortune of this Kind.

This ſeemed to be wholeſome Advice; but the Leaders were ſo infatuated, that they would hearken to nothing that contradicted the Reſolution of going back to *England*.

When Mr. *Ratcliffe* perceived that whatever he could ſay would be to no Purpoſe, he begged of them to give him only and hundred Horſe, and with them he would take his Fortune along with the Highlanders. But this could not be granted, becauſe it would weaken their Forces too much, diſcourage their Friends from joining them, and give their Enemies an Opportunity to cruſh them before they ſhould be able to make Head againſt them.

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Several Councils and Conſultations were held about this Affair of the Highlanders, and many Meſſages paſſed to and fro between them; at laſt the Highlanders agreed to ſtay with them ſo long as they continued on the North Side of the *Tweed*, but were determined to go no further than the Borders.

After they had marched about from Place to Place for ſome Time, the Engliſh Gentlemen at laſt grew poſitive for an Attempt upon *England*, having, they ſaid, received Letters from *Lancaſhire*, inviting them thither, and aſſuring them, that there would be a general Inſurrection upon their appearing, and that 20,000 Men would immediately join them. Whether they had ſuch Expreſſes or no, was never certainly known; but they affirmed it to the Army, and urged the Advantages of a ſpeedy March into *England* with ſuch Vehemence, that they turned the Scale: But Mr. *Ratcliffe* always proteſted againſt it, as a Meaſure which would certainly be their Ruin, as indeed it proved. Upon which about 500 Highlanders left them, and the Earl of *Wintoun* went off likewiſe with a good part of his Troop, tho' he afterwards rejoined them.

But notwithſtanding all theſe Diſcouragements, they were not diſheartened, but ſtill continued in their Reſolution of marching for *England* with ſuch of their Forces as were willing to bear them Company. It is not neceſſary for our Purpoſe, to give a particular Detail of their daily Marches and Stages till their Arrival in *Lancaſhire*, ſince nothing of Conſequence happened all the Way, wherein Mr. *Ratcliffe* had any Concern.

On the 10th of *November* they came to *Preſton*, where they proclaimed the Pretender, and were joined by a great many Gentlemen with their Tenants, Servants, and Attendants, but all Papiſts. When the Alarm was given that the King's Forces were coming to attack them, and were but a few Miles off, Mr. *Farquarſon*, at the Head of a Body of the Rebels, went out of Town as far as *Ribble* Bridge, where they poſted themſelves, to hinder the King's Forces from proceeding any farther; but were ſoon called off, and the Paſſage was left free for General *Wills* and his Troops to paſs up to the Town.

In the mean Time, the Rebels in the Town prepared for a reſolute Defence. The Gentlemen Voluntiers were drawn

up in the Churchyard, under the Command of the Lord *Derwentwater* and his Brother Mr. *Ratcliffe*. Both of them behaved with the greateſt Intrepidity, both of them animating their Men both by Words and Example, to behave with Courage ſuitable to the Emergent Occaſion, and they maintained their Ground a great While with the utmoſt Bravery; and indeed they behaved ſo well, that they obliged the King's Forces to retire. During the whole Action, Mr. *Ratcliffe* was in the Midſt of the Fire, and expoſed to as much Danger as the meaneſt Soldier then upon Duty. But the Rebels being now inveſted on all Sides, ſeveral of their Chiefs prevailed on Mr. *Forſter* to propoſe a Capitulation; which the Highlanders oppoſed, and Mr. *Ratcliffe* proteſted againſt, and ſaid, that he had rather die with his Sword in his Hand, like a Man of Honour, than be dragged like a Felon to the Gallows, and to be there hanged like a Dog. But the Majority being againſt him, he was obliged to ſubmit with the reſt.

He was afterwards brought to *London* with many more of the Rebel Chiefs; the Lords were committed to the *Tower*, and he with others to *Newgate*; on the 8th of *May* 1716, Mr. *Ratcliffe* was arraigned at the Exchequer Bar at *Weſtminſter*, for High Treaſon, to which he pleaded not guilty. On the 18th of the ſame Month, he was brought there again, and tried upon the Indictment, and having but little to ſay in his Defence, he was found Guilty.

In a few Days after, he, with eleven more of the Chiefs were carried to *Weſtminſter* in ſix Coaches, in order to have Sentence of Death paſſed upon them. It deſerves Remark, and was at that Time particularly taken Notice of, that when the Coach which Mr. *Ratcliffe* was in, came into *Fleet-Street*, his Majeſty King *George* I. was then paſſing along in his Coach, being then going to *Hanover* for the firſt Time after his Aſcenſion to the Throne. This obliged Mr. *Ratcliffe*'s Coach to ſtop; which happening oppoſite to a Diſtiller's Shop, the third Door on the Right Hand towards *Temple-Bar*, he called for half a Pint of Anniſeed, which himſelf, his Fellow-Priſoners, and a Servant of *Newgate*, drank, and then proceeded to *Weſtminſter*, where Sentence of Death was pronounced againſt him.

He was ſeveral Times reſpited, and perhaps might have been pardoned; but not caring to truſt to an Event ſo doubtful,

doubtful, began to entertain Thoughts of making his Eſcape, which he actually effected, with Thirteen others in the following Manner.

The Day appointed for the Purpoſe, the Rebel Chiefs in *Newgate* had a very grand Entertainment, which they kept in a Room called the *Caſtle*, which is the upper Part of the Priſon. Mr. *Ratcliffe* was then dreſſed in a Suit of Black; and when the Company were in the Height of their Merriment, obſerving a little Door open in the Corner of the Room, he went through it, and was followed by Thirteen more of the Rebels who were then in Company. The Paſſage from this Door, led them to the Maſter's Side Debtors, where the Turnkey not knowing them, but ſuppoſing them to be Strangers who came to ſee their Friends, let them out.

Being got clear of *Newgate*, he took the firſt Opportunity of getting a Paſſage to *France*. He lived there in a very poor and mean Condition, though conſtantly fed with Promiſes by the Courtiers; and the Pretender being obliged to quit the Dominions of *France*, Mr. *Ratcliffe* followed him for ſome Time, ſubſiſted upon a poor Penſion, ſuch as his Maſter could afford to allow him. Beſides which he had nothing, except a ſmall Remittance from his Nephew in *England*.

After he had been with the Pretender ſome Time, he return'd to *Paris*, where he made his Addreſſes to, and married the Lady *Newburgh*, Relict of *Levingſton*, Lord *Newburgh*, a *Scots* Nobleman, by whom he has a Son.

In the Year 1733, he came over to *England*, and reſided in *Pall-Mall* for ſeveral Months; and though publickly known, yet the Miniſtry did not think proper to take any Notice of him, ſo long as he behaved quietly, and gave no Diſturbance to the Government. In the Year 1735, he was over here again, and endeavoured, by the Mediation of Friends to procure his Pardon, though unſucceſsfully.

In the Year 1745, when the late Rebellion broke out in *Scotland*, Mr. *Ratcliffe* intended to have had his Share in it; and for that Purpoſe he, his Son, and ſeveral other *Scots* and *Iriſh* Officers embarked on Board the *Eſperance* Privateer, which was taken by the *Sheerneſs* Man of War before theſe Gentlemen could land in *Scotland*. Mr. *Ratcliffe* and his Son, were brought to Town and carried to the *Tower*;

but his Son, who was at firſt thought to be the Pretender youngeſt Son, was ſoon after ſent to *France* by way of Exchange, agreeable to the Cartel eſtabliſhed between the two Kingdoms; for as he was born in *France*, he could not be a Traitor to the King of *Great Britain*.

November 20. He was carried under a ſtrong Guard from the *Tower* to *Weſtminſter*; but his Behaviour in Court was very unbecoming a Gentleman, and he treated the Court with a great deal of Rudeneſs; inſiſting that he was Earl of *Derwentwater*, and expected that the Court ſhould treat him in a Manner agreeable to his Dignity, and talked very impertinently to the Judges.

The Judges however took no Advantage of his abuſive and unmannerly Language, and his Council inſinuated, that he was diſordered in his Senſes. They bore his Impertinence with abundance of Patience, and at laſt acquainted him; that on *Monday* the 24th they ſhould proceed to impannel a Jury, to try whether he was the identical *Charles Ratcliffe*, who received Sentence of Death 30 Years before; and then remanded him back to the *Tower*.

On *Monday*, *Nov.* 24. He was again brought to the *King's-Bench* Bar, in order to be arraigned, but he would neither hold up his Hand nor plead; inſiſting that he was a Subject only of the King of *France*, whoſe Commiſſion he bore, as he was ready to prove from the Teſtimony of the Ambaſſador of the King of *Naples*, then in Court. The Court taking no Notice of his Allegations, ordered his former Indictment and Conviction to be read to him in *Engliſh*. But this, he ſaid, had no Relation to him, for his Name was not *Charles Ratcliffe*, as he was there called, but the Earl of *Derwentwater*: Which Expreſſion his Council catching hold of, ſaid, that that was the Plea which the Priſoner relied on; which being allowed, Iſſue was joined.

His Council then moved to put off his Trial, alledging that two of his material Witneſſes were abſent, as ſworn in his Affidavit, wherein he had ſubſcribed himſelf Count *de Derwentwater*. But the Council for the King objecting to the Form and Subſtance of the Affidavit; and that the Priſoner had not ſo much as undertaken to ſwear that he was not the Perſon formerly convicted, the Court told him they could not indulge him in his Requeſt for a longer Time,

Time, unleſs he could give ſome probable Teſtimony that his Plea was true.

The Priſoner then mended his Affidavit with reſpect to the Witneſſes, but not to himſelf; the Court therefore proceeded to Trial. When two or three of the Pannel of the Jury were called over, Mr. *Ratcliffe* begun to Challenge; but the Court told him, he had no Right to challenge in an Inqueſt of this Kind.

Several Witneſſes were called to prove the Priſoner the identical Perſon, *Charles Ratcliffe*, who received Sentence Thirty Years before. But none of them could come up to the Point, till a great Officer was ſworn, who depoſed, that Mr. *Ratcliffe*, ſince his Confinement in the Tower, had acknowledged to him, when they had been drinking a Glaſs of Wine together, that he was the ſame Perſon. But Mr. *Ratcliffe* objected to this Gentleman's Teſtimony, becauſe he had confeſſed that he believed that there was neither God nor Devil; and it would be an Abſurdity to ſwear a Man upon the Bible who had no Faith in any Thing it contained. This however was over-ruled, and no other Defence being made, the Jury withdrew, and in about ten Minutes brought in their Verdict, that he was the ſame *Charles Ratcliffe*, who was convicted in the Year 1715. And a Rule was made for the proper Writ for his Execution on the 8th of *December*, and then he was remanded back to the Tower.

When he was informed by the Court of the Time appointed for his Execution, he had the Inſolence to tell them, That he wiſhed they had granted him a longer Time, that ſo he might have acquainted ſome People in *France*, that ſo his Brother the Earl of *Moreton* and he might have ſet out on their Journey together.

We come now to ſpeak of his Behaviour; but before we do that, it will not be improper to inform our Readers, that at the ſame Time this Gentleman was committed to the Tower, his Equerry, Mr. *M'Dermot*, who had ſerved him in that Quality three and twenty Years, was ſent to *Newgate*, being charged with High Treaſon.

After his Commitment to the Tower, he behaved with a ſullen Pride and Haughtineſs ſcarce ſufferable. As he imagined himſelf a Nobleman, and one of the firſt Rank, he ſeemed to be poſſeſſed of a Notion, that Pride, Ill-nature,

ture, and Abuſiveneſs, were inſeparable from noble Blood, and therefore diſcovered, on all Occaſions, and in every Part of his Behaviour, eſpecially to his Inferiors, thoſe troubleſome Qualities. So that at laſt, it was with Difficulty that he could prevail with the Warders, or indeed, any others, to give him common Attendance.

I am ſorry I am obliged to mention theſe Particulars, which are ſo much to his Diſcredit, eſpecially when I remember the amiable Temper of the Earl, and am grieved that there ſhould be one in the Family who has ſhewn a Character which muſt for ever ſtand as a Contraſt to that of his Brother. But I muſt do Juſtice to my Subject; I have ſhewn his Virtues in the Courſe of theſe Memoirs, and the Publick might well charge me with Partiality if I endeavoured to conceal or palliate his Faults. And it would be in vain to attempt it, ſince there are Hundreds who could convict us of Partiality were we to attempt it.

The Day of Execution.

BETWEEN Nine and Ten in the Morning, the Sheriffs with their Under-Sheriffs, met at the *Mitre Tavern* in *Fenchurch-ſtreet*, and from thence proceeded, the Under-Sheriffs in a Mourning Coach, and the Sheriffs in their Chariots to the lower End of the *Minories*, where they were met by their Officers, who marched before them till they came over-againſt the Victualling Office, where they ſtopt, and then the Under-Sheriffs went down to the Eaſt Gate of the *Tower*, which is next the Iron Gate, when getting out of the Mourning Coach, they went up to the Gate, and ſeeing the Warders through the Gate, they required Admittance to the Lieutenant Governor of the *Tower*; upon which the Gate was opened, and they went in, and in about Ten Minutes returned, and went into the Mourning Coach again, which waited for them; and in a ſhort Time after the Priſoner was brought in a Landau from his Apartment in the *Tower*, out at the Eaſt Gate, and then the Proceſſion, which was ſlow and ſolemn, was as follows: Firſt, the Sheriffs Officers, then the Mourning Coach in which were the two Under-Sheriffs with their Wands; then the Landau with the Priſoner,

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and the Officers of the *Tower* who had him in Cuſtody; the Landau was ſurrounded by a Party of Foot-Guards with their Bayonets fixed. In this Manner they proceeded up *Little Tower-Hill*, till they came oppoſite the Victualling Office, where the Sheriffs waited to receive him; at which Place the Priſoner got out of the Landau, and was put into the Mourning Coach, which carried him about a hundred Yards further, to a Booth built on Purpoſe to repoſe himſelf in, at the Foot of the Stairs of the Scaffold.

When he got out of the Landau, happening to ſee ſome Gentlemen he knew, he paid his Compliments to them in the genteeleſt Manner, and ſmiled, and coming to the Side of the Mourning Coach, he aſked the Officers who ſtood to wait, whether he was to go in there? and being anſwered in the Affirmative, he only ſaid, *It is well*, and ſo ſtepped in directly.

Being come to the Booth beforementioned, attended with the Sheriffs, he ſtaid there about ten Minutes, which Time he ſpent chiefly in his Devotions, ſpeaking but very little to any Body.

He then walked up upon the Scaffold with great Compoſure. He was dreſſed in his Regimentals, a Scarlet Coat, with Gold Buttons, the Sleeves faced with black Velvet, Scarlet Waiſtcoat trimmed with Gold Lace, a Scarlet Pair of Breeches, and white Silk Stockings, and his Hat with a white Feather round it.

Soon after he was upon the Stage, he aſked for the Executioner, who ſtanding by him, he put his Hand in his Pocket, and took out a Parcel of Gold, and then gave it into his Hands, ſaying, *I am but a poor Man, there's ten Guineas for you; if I had more I would give it you; and I deſire you to do your Execution ſo as to put me to the leaſt Miſery you can.* He then kneeled down before the Block, and putting his Hands together, he prayed for ſome little while, when two of the Warders of the Tower came to him, one of each Side of him; one of them took off his Wig, and the other put a white Cap upon his Head; and then the unhappy Criminal roſe upon his Legs, and with their Aſſiſtance pulled off his Coat and Waiſtcoat. He then turned about and took his Leave, in a reſpectful Manner of the Sheriffs, and then untied the Collar of his Shirt, which was

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faſtened with a black Ribbon, and began to tuck the Collar of his Shirt down, but not being able to reach far enough behind, he deſired the Executioner to do it for him, which the Executioner did accordingly. And then, after ſaying a ſhort Prayer to himſelf, and croſſing himſelf ſeveral Times, he laid his Head down upon the Block; and then deſired the Executioner to ſtrike far enough, and then added theſe his laſt Words, *When I ſpread my Hands thus, do you take my Head off.* And in leſs than half a Minute he gave the Signal, which was followed with a Stroke of the Ax, which ſevered his Head, except a Bit of Skin which he cut aſunder at two or three Chops. The Body then fell down upon the Stage; and the Executioner ſearching his Pockets, found half a Guinea, a Silver Crucifix, and his Beads. Four Undertakers Men ſtood ready with a Piece of red Bays to receive the Head as it fell off, and the Body was wrapt up in a Blanket, and the Head in the Bays, were put into the Coffin which ſtood upon the Stage, and the Coffin was then put into a Hearſe, which carried the Corps to the *Nag's Head* in *Gray's-Inn-Lane*, from whence it was removed in the Dead of the Night, to Mr. *Walmſley's* in *North-ſtreet*, *Red-Lion-Square*, from whence it is to be buried.

His Coffin was covered with Black Velvet, with gilt Nails and Handles, without a Plate, his Age was 53. The Inſide of the Coffin was Lead, and lined with white Sattin.

The Executioner after he had examined his Pockets, found that Mr. *Ratcliffe* had given him a Guinea and half more than he had told him, ſo that with the Half Guinea which he found in the Gentleman's Pockets, made in the whole Twelve Guineas.

Had he lived to *Thurſday* the 11th Inſtant, it would have been juſt 30 Years ago ſince he received Sentence of Death.

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F I N I S.